1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ă'ukekni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times.

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ă'ukekni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ă'ukekni.

IV. gu'mbŏtkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"lalo$_{\eta}$kni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ă'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"lalo$_{\eta}$E, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. The ă'ukekni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; of the others iu"lalo$_{\eta}$kni have thirteen, gu'mbŏtkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ă'ukekni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played together at gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu"lalo$_{\eta}$E at Klamath falls, and goyEmske'gis on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbŏtkni. The iu"lalo$_{\eta}$kni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ă'ukekni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du"lkŭt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ă'ukekni; all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ă'ukekni are the highest people. KEmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others.

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Modoc NS17

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against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child.

To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, however, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess an essential truth:

> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.[21] Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.[22]

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> 10 acres of land. I am commanded, to go among the Indians with my farmer and direct them in plowing, sowing, planting, etc, and see that they have the necessary tools and know how to use them.

Vegetables, he thought, could be sold at Fort Klamath and Linkville; grain would always find a market at some price.[16] In order to heighten the incentives, Emery reported,

> I have found it necessary. . .to make temporary divisions of lands suited to Agriculture.
>
> During the Spring and Summer months, I laid off, assisted by Indian boys, about 50 farms, chaining boundary lines; the Indians greatly desired the work to be continued, each Indian agreed to fence and cultivate a portion of the land assigned to him.
>
> The plots laid off ranging from 30 to 120 acres—according to treaty stipulations."

[625] The next year, however, he had recourse to the Indian police. During the present Spring," he reported, "they have assisted in enforcing the general order that all able-bodied Indians will be required to do some work in Agriculture. I owe much to the police for the marked advance made this year in the lines of agriculture."[18] By these methods he soon had three quarters of the available adults helping, nearly every family seeding from 2 to 20 acres.[19] The following year he reported that "nine tenths of the Indians have been induced to engage in the work of agriculture,"[20] but the year after, with a record 2,400 acres sown, he was complaining about the "unprecedented heat"—and was moving on to greener pastures.[21] When he returned for another tour in 1896-97, however, he resumed the same program.

[829] Lindsay Applegate had remarked, some thirty years earlier, that the Indians "look upon the whites as superior beings. . . ."[22] It must have been difficult, even with the best will, to maintain that estimate in the face of administrative obstinacy of this order.

Stock Raising

*657 231 179 Meanwhile, with the discovery that the upper valley of the Sprague provided satisfactory condition for winter range, stock raising had gradually come to the fore. In prereservation days, horses had constituted an important form of wealth, and cattle were now accepted into the pecuniary system. By 1879, Agent

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first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies, though the most lasting impressions were made in references to Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

There was competition from off-reservation schools over the older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above, had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead, and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dissatisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

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TWELVE

[P. 160]

"Disgruntled Ward-Citizens"

#648 #657 • 829 KLAMATH DISILLUSIONMENT UNDER THE AGENCY WAS COMPOUNDED of many elements. In part it was a rejection by the Klamath of the position in which they found themselves. "Disgruntled ward-citizens,"[1] confronted with the loss of cherished values, and discontented with their achievements, they created a self-image and an interpretation of history that absolved them from blame for their present lot. Drawing upon themes already manifest in Klamath thought, they summoned up a halcyon past, a golden age when all lived simply but well and, in the words of old chief Chiloquin, "The Klamaths never lost prisoners and they were always able to avenge all wrongs committed against them by other tribes, and they were all afraid of us."[2]

As a corollary, the Klamath fall from ancient grace found its evil agent in the white man, particularly in that faceless monster, the government. The oral record of the treaty and the unfulfilled promises then made have been a recurrent theme in the discontent. On several occasions, Seldon Kirk, long the venerable chairman of the tribal council and a man of great character, has insisted that on that eventful day at Council Grove soldiers from Fort Klamath under Captain Kelly fired at the feet of the Indians, who then signed under duress. Although none of the Indians or whites participant in the treaty furnishes any ground for this account,[3] it has taken on a sort of confirmation from other circumstantial statements about the unfulfilled promises made at that time.

In the emergence of this attitude, the claims against the government became crucial. Not only did they cast the United States in a role antagonistic to the Indians and thus faithless to its wardship, but they provided a rallying cry which the opportunistic among tribal leaders found was almost invariably

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heeded. Surely, the government stands in some measure accountable here; and the Indian viewpoint bears a rough relationship to the events of their history. It errs, however, in oversimplification and has the important consequence of deflecting all responsibility for the condition of the Indians upon the shoulders of others.

These developments, when related to the promise of citizenship for Indians, became critical. Originally the Allotment Act had designed that all Indians living apart from their tribes and in assimilation to whites should be awarded citizenship; and that any reservation Indian, upon receiving a patent in trust, would attain the same status. Subsequent amendments postponed citizenship until a patent in fee had been secured. For the Klamath reservation, the local timetable had the result that no trust patents were awarded until all allotments had been made, a condition that in turn had to await settlement of several of the claims suits. The assignment of lands thus took place in an atmosphere heavy with the anticipation of a swift change of status. The better-educated among the leaders, who in turn mingled with those whom allotment had brought back into the reservation polity, were eager to press for greater freedom and increased self-rule.

Signally, administrators believed the same act implied they had a heightened responsibility toward their charges. Schooling had become compulsory, and O. C. Applegate, then Agent, was convinced that allottees should send their children by preference to reservation school. Repeatedly, in his letters to those seeking allotments, he urged them to send their children to the boarding school "where they will be boarded and clothed without expense to you."[4] To a schoolboy who wished to remain away, he wrote, "Tell your father that I intend all the children to have land on the reservation, and that they must come into school according to the rules."[5] When one off-reservation member failed to send her children to school after having consented to do so, Applegate firmly reproved her and added, "Please write me at once what you propose to do about them, and if it is your wish to have them give up their allotments on the reservation."[6]

The relationship between schools on and off the reservation now took on a new dimension. Some of the more acculturated tribal members began to criticize the Agency-run schools as

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position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire family being summative for its members.

All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chiloquin had been derived from that in other American communities. The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, service fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports, politics, the school, and to youth activities. The manner in which the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions or their local historical priority. It related instead to the prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United States and their identification with social status. Even within such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here. Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single dimension provided a clear means of ranking. It was evident, for example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches, ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment, together with the character of their worship, all afforded a basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation. As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church, located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed and drawing members from the entire social span.

Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occupied high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary relations which they regarded as characterizing the town, and discounted the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

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*648 *657 554 • 829 status, whose desires to move upward had been temporarily baffled, delineated the system in terms far more precise than appeared justifiable, and as an instrument of calculated power. Members of several church groups of intermediate or low ranking, each of which saw themselves as a body of the elect in a world of sinners, denied the validity of any other assessment. It was frequent in such instances to find individuals contrasting the superiority of their own ideals with the fallible conduct of members of other reference groups.

*648 *657 571 554 Despite such demurrers, which have become a sociological commonplace, the evidence of informal association in parties, bridge clubs, drinking cliques, and loafing groups, together with participation in more formal associations, attests the existence of a status grid, with a multiplicity of positions ranked relatively, rather than in an order of fixed classes.[2] The results of a sociometric study indicate[3] that the primary criteria underlying evaluation in Chiloquin included income, occupation, landownership, and educational status. For the person with the proper qualifications, mobility was relatively easy; while the daily contact of everyday life made possible—particularly for long-time residents—an easy association, spiced with mutual esteem, across wide differences in status.

Klamath standing in such a system was relatively low. The majority of tribal members failed to qualify for most of the specific criteria valued; and in one area, the style of their life, they fell conspicuously short of the standards set. They did not enter readily into most of the associations within which the formal social life of the town was transacted. Some felt they would not be welcome, and often they were right. Even that handful who were acceptable only inched forward, anticipating rebuff at every step. As a group, tribal members suffered disesteem for their wardlike subjugation to the government and the legal disabilities that hedged them in. Within the community, their low productive status, their dependence upon a credit system, and their record before the law all provided grounds for being judged deficient.

*648 *657 563 For the white citizens of Chiloquin, achievement was the token by which each person was ideally placed. Klamath, however, also labored under their inclusion in a fixed category; for in the ethnic

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estranged themselves from Klamath society. Few, indeed, had attempted to cross the chasm; and fewer were able to straddle it.

Klamath, on their part, entertained strong prejudices. Some were matters of ancient history. Klamath and Modoc were disdainful of Paiute and Pit River, and the epithets, 'daughter of a Paiute!' or 'slave!' still stung. At the time of allotment, when many members had come back upon the reservation, while the numbers of those calling themselves Klamath had soared, the absolute number of Pit River had declined. Evidently, members of mixed parentage were passing into the more prestigious category. Toward other minority groups tribal members displayed various attitudes. Indians from nearby reservations were generally well received, but those from afar were resented, particularly if they held Agency jobs coveted by the Klamath.

Whites tended to lump all Indians together, and the accomplishments of some nonlocal Indians elevated the general Indian status in the popular view. Nonetheless, tribal members were wont to regard them as trespassers. Toward Mexicans, with whom they occasionally intermarried, they were on terms of approximate equality. Negroes were viewed with strong disdain and two tribal families of part-Negro ancestry often were the object of pointed remarks.

Among themselves, Klamath also sometimes reflected the biases of the major society. Younger men have been heard to express a preference for a wife of lighter pigmentation. The epithet, "You big, black Indian!" was occasionally hurled between angry children; and one woman who reported this recalled how shocked she was, in her early teens, when she realized that it was true, that she was indeed an Indian. Against the valuation on light color there is, however, another view. Those of darker hue not infrequently voice their pride in this token of racial purity, and some speak disparagingly of the "half-breeds," alleging that they stem from lewd intercourse with the soldiery of old Fort Klamath. One young leader with a high degree of Indian ancestry, in considering the division of tribal property under termination, ingeniously proposed that each member receive a share proportional to his direct biological Klamath heritage. In the end, pigmentation offers no certain index of ethnic self-image: for

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schoolboys with no discernible trace of Indian ancestry will often assert fiercely their Klamath character.

One expression of Klamath preference among their ethnic neighbors is to be found in the intermarriages into which tribal members enter. In Chiloquin in 1949-50, a census of Klamath households which omits those tribal members living alone showed 46 per cent of the remaining households to be headed by a Klamath couple. Interethnic households and those headed by the Klamath survivor in an Interethnic union were distributed as follows: with white partner, 25 per cent; with Indian, 14 per cent; with Mexican, 11 per cent; Indeterminate (white or Indian partner), 3 per cent; with Chinese, 1 per cent. In each class of Interethnic union, the prevailing form of marriage was that in which the wife was the tribal member.[8]

There is some evidence of trends in comparative figures, though these must be tentatively posed. Rural Beatty, with a much smaller number of households, some ten years later included a somewhat larger proportion of units headed by Klamath partners, with somewhat more Indian and somewhat fewer white, Interethnic couples. This suggests that the rural areas of the reservation have tended to lag somewhat behind the larger towns in either producing or attracting white Interethnic families.[9] In turn, over time the Interethnic component of Chiloquin has proved more transient than that headed by Tribal partners: in a ten year period, almost two-thirds of the former moved away, as against somewhat less than one-third of the latter.[10] Although there was a corresponding replacement by new families moving in, the net result was a drop in the Interethnic population. The direction of their movement had been for the main part into Klamath Falls and other larger cities off the reservation.

It was in just those communities in which ethnic differences were most sharply weighted that Interethnic couples were most commonly found. There were several diverse reasons for this seeming paradox. In Chiloquin, a small but growing number of marriages had come to take place between schoolmates. Some of these involved the offspring of Interethnic farm couples, in which a white man had married a Klamath woman; and these families, with long-standing ties with leading families in Chiloquin, were at once esteemed and still regarded as Klamath. The small seg-

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given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, who objectively were least Indian genetically and who manifested the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

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showed them in fact to be deficient here, and they made complex, conditional statements about it. They seemed uncertain about the manner in which a prosperous life was to be achieved. The scofflaw members of the Inframodal category, by contrast, saw accomplishment as the result of individual strengths, rather than of surrogate support. In this, having regard for their family form, they may be regarded as fairly realistic; but attainment for them often took fantastic forms. One might say that they were content to play with the idea but were unprepared to put it into practice. In their treatment of crime and violence they took a realistic view, as against the Conformant subjects, who also gave it prominence, or the Intermediate category, who seldom discussed it; and they often saw them from the perspective of the violator. Conformant concern with crime and violence, by contrast, was coupled with the view that punishment, often involving remorse as well, was both merited and certain.

Several general comments may be offered. In the first place, the Conformant subjects stand somewhat apart from members of the other two categories in adherence to standards dominant among whites. A matter of some note is the size of the group. While the size of segments was determined by the purposes of the study, the impression is strong that a larger proportion of tribal members would seem to be attuned already to values honored in American society than have been accepted by their white peers. Social acceptance, from this point of view, has lagged behind the formation of acceptable attitudes.

There are reasons for this. On the one hand, a number of tribal members approve these attitudes as merely reflecting those of the traditional Klamath. Some of them, despite Conformant behavior, decline to choose white associates if it means giving up ties with Klamath kin and friends. Then, too, among whites the formation of acceptable attitudes and behavior must be accompanied by other qualifications, discussed earlier. Major white stereotypes, as can be seen, have been formed about behavior and attitudes found principally among the minority of Klamath who fall into the Inframodal segment, and these have been extended to characterize tribal members as a whole.

Finally, behavior of Inframodal type is more complex than may appear at first. It was present, in somewhat different form, in

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NOW TO DAVE AND TECUMSEH AGAIN

539 [829] Ninteen [sic] of the young men have determined to renounce their old Indian ways and do as you have advised them to do, and as I have wanted them to do, and as fast as others come to the same determination I will let you know. Now, whatever you learn about other Indians that you may see I want to you to let me know about it, whether [sic] it be anything good or bad, and you can tell others how we are getting along here. You can tell all the Inds., you see that the above no of Klamath Inds. have determined to throw away all bad things and live as white men should. If the Tyee at Washington tells you or Oliver what he know about us or any other Inds that he don't like—that he thinks is cultus—I want you to write me about it I want to know all about these things.

[434] We are getting flour from the Mill, also Beef this winter and we are very well satisfied about it. We have the Sawmill to help us get some money, and we are having help from the Flour Mill and some beef; and things are getting about straight. Now I feel strong to punish those that do wrong, because there are so many young men now to help Mr. Dyar Blow and myself. Now all we lack is some good sleighs that we may ride around like white men in winter, like we do in our wagons in summer. Now we are going to plow make rails &c this spring, and by and by I will let you know how we are getting along. A[l]so by and by I will let you know about the hay on the flat above the Agency. I understand that you are to tell the Hias Tyee how we used to live here and how we are doing now. After you have done this I want you to let me know all about it, Just what he thinks. Don't be afraid to tell us all his heart, for I'll not get afraid, nor run away. You know that bad men are trying to get our lands and are lying to the President. Now if I were there I would talk the whole truth to him and would not chaco tenas tumtum[†] at whatever he might say or do. I want you to do the same. Don't be afraid of him, but tell him all about these things. Tell him that we all, both Whites and Inds. have *one* Father in Heaven that we are made alike, we all have hands, feet and bodies alike, and we all have minds; In fact are brothers; and nowhere do I learn that any of us have any right to take wrongfully or by force from another any of the lands which our common Father has made for *all* his children.

I told Mr. Meacham when he was Supt. that if the Snakes or Modocs or any other Inds. were to become bad and fight the whites I would not help them. That I wanted to stay at home and keep everything straight on the reservation. We have hias heavy ictas[‡] here now, and I want to close nanich[§] these. When Capt. Jack commenced to fight I told all my people not to go there to help Jack. I was also opposed

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9. Stern (1961–62), p. 173.

10. Thus in *Your Key to Chiloquin*, Klamath Education Program, Oregon State Department of Education (1958), the Klamath artist, himself a frequent violator, illustrates the budget, p. 31, with a wine jug and city store proceeds on one side, and an Indian, fine in hand, on the other.

[829]

FIFTEEN. FAMILY AND SCHOOL

1. Livingstone (1959), pp. 8 ff.
2. Quoted in Stern and Swanson (1960).
3. Clifton (1960); Clifton and Levine (1961), pp. 76–78.
4. Quoted in Stern and Swanson (1960).
5. See Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 159 ff. for provisos on these figures.
6. For the figures and discussion, see Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 164 ff.

SIXTEEN. STATUS GRADIENT, ETHNIC HIERARCHY, AND ACCULTURATIVE RANGE

1. Detailed description will be found in Stern and Swanson (1960).
2. See Goldschmidt (1950); Williams (1958), pp. 90–135.
3. Ribbans (1951).
4. "Matilda Must Move" (March 7, 1907), p. 1. For her earlier career, see Meacham (1875), p. 423.
5. "Indians Becoming Civilized," Klamath Falls *Express* (May 23, 1907), p. 1.
6. "Boredom Entirely Lacking in Sprightly, Hospitable Chiloquin" (May 3, 1931), Sec. 4, pp. 4, 6.
7. Stern and Swanson (1960), p. 215.
8. The total number of households considered is 105.
9. The total number of households considered is 21. The respective percentages are: Klamath couple, 57 per cent; with Indian, 19 per cent, with white, 19 per cent, with Negro, 5 per cent. Figures compiled from Du Toit (1959).

For another expression, see chap. 13, n.10.

10. Stern and Swanson (1960), p. 45, Table II.
11. James (1961), pp. 826–33; cf. Lurie (1962).
12. Data are drawn from Barnett (1957), Spier (1935), and my own field notes.
13. *Annual Narrative Report* (1917), p. 6.
14. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 220.
15. Zakoji (1953); Stern (1956), pp. 138–39. The latter compares

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000 12. In one story which made the rounds, it was said that Jackson had instructed the less acculturated among the Paiute, "When I stand up, you stand too!" When, in the course of a lengthy session, he rose suddenly to go to the lavatory, the upsurge among his constituents was remarkable.

13. As chairman, Seldon Kirk attempted to stem these delays. On one occasion, when Crawford was maintaining a boycott and the number present fell just short of the required number, Kirk waited until Crawford stepped in to take a head count—and had his quorum for business.

• [329] 14. A number of tribal members took the position that the employment of a white man to collect outstanding debts was no more than a government plot to fill another position at tribal expense; and, ignoring the success with which he was operating, claimed that his salary was a useless extravagance. Characteristically, in this situation, their sympathies lay with their fellow-tribesmen and against the coercive whites.

15. Harrassed by an absentee gadfly, one speaker shifted his remarks into Klamath, and thus excluded him. Translators might be retained at any meeting upon request from the floor, but only for the purpose of rendering English into Klamath–Modoc or Paiute.

16. Klamath Management Specialists (1957), p. 6, Appendix B, Exhibit 11.

17. *Minutes*, General Council, Klamath Agency (Sept. 16, 1947).

18. *32d Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*. U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1900–1901), Vol. 28, 641, 642.

19. As Ostrom has shown (see n.1 above), there were inconsistencies on the latter point in the legislation itself.

20. In the joint report referred to in n.1.

21. Ames and Fisher (1959), pp. 101–11. It is interesting to note, by way of contrast with the reliance upon commercial exploitation of the Klamath tribal timber, that the Menominee instead had established a tribal mill in which many members found employment.

22. Including the insertion of a provision for a $500 per capita payment to follow shortly the signing of the bill. As was anticipated, when this section became known on the reservation, it greatly increased pressures upon the tribal leaders to sign.

23. Mead (1932), pp. 67–69.

24. The Miss Indian America of 1962–63 was a Klamath.

25. Edgerton (1962).

26. Indeed, in a survey of the legal status of American Indian

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present population, White or Klamath.

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups, whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency, the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities, all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life, so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several

882 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
155 in test performance and grades.
156

891 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[464] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these bene-
fits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local em-
ployers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
[654] of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by ex-
perience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circum-
vented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-
reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front" maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites, but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof, reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of neighbors.

Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is suggested by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

Ámpχänkni máḵlaks.

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AN OPINION ABOUT THE WASCO INDIANS.

Obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect from Charles Preston.

Ámpχänkni gátpa mû shanáholiuk snáwedsh, ḵá-i spûní vushúk;
One Wasco came very much desiring a wife, (but) not gave from fear;

Ámpχänkni shawígatk; ḵíya Ámpχänkni. Génuapk túmi É-ukskni
the Wascoes are irritable; liars are the Wascoes. Would go many Lake men

Ámpχäni sheshatuíkuapk lû'ksh mä'ntch-gítko; skútash shanáholiuk 3
to the Dalles, would trade off slaves formerly; blankets (they) wanted

pä'niak, skútash î'ktsa Ámpχäni yámnash tchîsh. Näsh sápash gépgapĕ-
being unclothed, blankets they fetched at the Dalles beads also. In one month they would

liuapk, tsíalsh épkuapk, káwi tchîsh épkuapk. Tánni sha géna? té-unipni
return, salmon they would bring, lamprey-eels too bring. How many of them did go? ten men

a-i sha géna, snáwedsh tchîsh géna, ḵá-i sha i-a vû'sha Ampχänkníshash. 6
they went, (a) woman also went, not they of course feared the Wascoes.

Ámpχänkni ak sas hushtsóχuapk; sasságank î gî! Ḵá-i nû shtínta
The Wascoes them might kill; imperilled ye are! Not I like

Ampχänkníshash, ḵá-i tídshi, ḵá-i tídsh hû'shkank. Hä' tidshí gîtk
the Wasco people, not good (they are), not well intentioned. If good-hearted were

máḵlaks Ámpχänkni, tánkt nî gĕ'nt, sasságuk ḵá-i géna. Tídshi hä'k 9
people the Wascoes, then I may go there, being in peril I will not go. Good if to be

túmĕnank génuapka nû.
I hear (them) shall go I (there).

NOTES.

The Wasco Indians form a portion of the Upper Chinook Indians of Columbia River. Their ancient homes were around and at the Dalles, and a few of them still live there, while others now inhabit a section of the Warm Spring Indian reservation on Des Chutes River, Oregon. The Dalles formerly were, and are still to a certain extent, the locality, where all the tribes of the Columbia River Basin sold and bartered their products and commodities. The Warm Spring Indians call the Wascoes: Waskopam, "men of the grass region"; the Klákamas-Chinooks call them Guithlasko. The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians also were among the frequenters of the intertribal market, exchanging there the slaves caught on their raids for ponies, provisions etc., when they went down to the Dalles on their annual trips. My Indian informant, Charles Preston, had lived long at the Dalles, and also gave me a list of Wasco words and sentences.

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 829 192 193 439

93, 1. ká-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, É-ukakni máklaka, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampɣä'ni, contraction of ambuɣä'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in rapids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságank i gî! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! i stands for át; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of ká-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, ká-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gênt: gë'ntëni, gë'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hä'k: tídshäk, tídshi hä gî.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÍSH SHASHAPKËLÉASH.

*539 773

K'MÛKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

[115]

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROHEN.

Lûpí nä'lsh hûnk K'múkamtch shutäyéga; ná-asht nä'lah hûnk gá-ag
At first as K'mûkamtch began to create; so to me long ago

këmûtchátk shashapkëlî-t'a génta käflatat. Tchía hû'k lä'pi shá-ûngaltk
an old man told the myth this world about. Lived the two related as son and father,

3 Aíshish K'mû'kamtchish; né-ulɣa hûnk gë'n, nánuktua ká-akt hû'k gäg,
Aíshish (and) K'mûkamtch; resolved this one, (that) all things, whichever (are) here, (and)

nánuktua kiä'm ámbutat wá, gítki gíug. Tchúyunk pä'n I-ulalónan
all kinds of fish, in the water (which) lives, should come into existence. Then again at the outlet at Linkville

tchkash né-ulɣa páplishash gî'tki gíug, mû' gînt nkî'llipsh tî'wish ndû'l-
also he caused a dam to come into existence, very there rapidly the rushing waters running

6 shampksh páltki, mû'ash shlé-uyuk, tchúyunk máklaksash kiä'm t'tklank
down to leave dry, the south wind when blows, and hereupon the Indians the fish scooping up

pálshtat pátki gî.
on the bottom left dry should feed upon.

Tchúi pän húmasht gíulank K'mukámtch únaka tchkash m'na Aíshi-
Hereupon having performed this K'mûkamtch son then his Aíshish

9 shash shtílta p'laíwasham shnû'lash, shléank kënáwatat shkúlelam wewéka
sent after an eagle's eyrie, perceiving up on a kënáwat-stalk of a lark the young ones

hû'nk shû'kayank, shnepë'mpemuk vunaká m'na. Snáwedsh spû'ntɣashtka
hanging (on it), in order to entrap son his. A wife to abduct (from him)

*539 773 mû'nkash túlak. Pi skî'shkish ná-asht: "kúi tádsh ak hû'k túmi pshe-utíwash gíug kî'shtchkank hiétalt nûsh".
male along with. It the fly-bug thus (said): very cruelly many human beings coming. when stepping (will) crush me".
(on me)

3 Tchî'hunk pā't háshtaltal né-ûlxûg. Tchúi sha pälpeliéga; mû'nk yaína shuteyéga; shtû'ya yaínaluk. At pi'pil húnta né-ulxa K'mukúm-tchām shutólaash.
Thus they mutually disputed for notice. Then they began working; the mole mountains began to make; it made gnag-ways to throw up mountains. Now alone thus (it) made after K'mûkamtch had finished creating.

NOTES.

*539 773 192 829 108, 3. tchák. There is evidently a *jeu de mots* intended between tchák and tcháksh. Which northern tribe the Kákakilsh were, my informant and other Indians were unable to say; it is a nickname, derived from kā'k, of some Oregonian tribe held in contempt by the Máklaks, and any reference to it causes great merriment to the Klamath Lake Indians. Máklaks is in both places separated from the tribal name by inversion; tchák and tchágsh form apposition to these tribal names and to máklaks, and for tchágsh we would expect tcháshish, which is the usual form of the word.

108, 5. É-nsh. The sea or ocean, which is meant here, is múni é-nsh, while é-ush means a lake, lagoon or large pond.

108, 6. ne-ulakiéga. Three of the lower animals are here brought together to confer with K'múkamtch to determine the duration of man's life, and every one voted according to its own experience. Stephen Powers mentions a mythic story comparable to this, heard by him among the Pit River Indians (Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnology, vol. III, p. 273): "The coyote and the fox participated in the creation of men and animals, the first being an evil spirit, the other good. They quarreled as to *whether they should let men live always* or *not*. The coyote said: "if they want to die, let them die"; but the fox said: "if they want to come back, let them come back." But nobody ever came back, for the coyote prevailed."

108, 9. 10. After shkintchish yagóta supply heméye, and after k'léktgi: gi.

[193] 108, 10. ti'dsok, or tit'shok, distributive form of t'shók, of the verb t'shín to grow. Cf. tit'sha, 107, 12.

108, 12. pshe-utiwash, abbreviated pshé-utuash, an archaic word used only in the *collective* sense of people, human beings. It occurs only in mythic stories. Cf. 105, 8.

104, 4. shtû'ya. This fiction was suggested by the manner in which moles throw up mole-hills and shows that the ancient myth-makers were not without a humoristic vein.

104, 4. pi'pil. Every mountain was thrown up by the mole alone, each one separately. The special creation of K'múkamtch was *man*, and whatsoever stands in direct connection with his existence, welfare and customs, as fishing-places, islands, funereal sweat-lodges etc.

104, 4. húnta, abbreviation of húntala: by proceeding in *this* manner, in the *same* manner.

*539 773 103 "Nakótk Wi'tlas kokétat hi tchi'sh luélks-kiăm gi'-uapk; na-ást shé-
"By (its) dam Witlash in William- there also a fish-killing place shall be; thus
son River
shash élya ni: Ktá-i-Tupáksi. Mbû'saks nā'st shéshatk máklaks gi'-uapk;
name give I: Rocks-where-stand. "Obsidian" so called a people shall exist;
Smā'k nā'st sésatk gi'-uapk máklaks gi'ta. Kā'katils nā'st sésatk gí-uapk 3
"Hairy" so named shall exist a people there. "Armpit-hairy" so called shall exist
gi'ta máklaka."
there a people."

NOTES.

All Máklaks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and É-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

*539 773 103 192 142, 1. kăila. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, kăila or kă'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulish. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; giti for gita hi.

142, 3. 5. Túkua and Kohăshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakă'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. nă-asni, nă'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

[765] [177] 142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndănnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

[193] 143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákŏsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

[829] 143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smā'k and Kā'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smā'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.